1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



582

interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

### *Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

583 178 [184]

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

583 597 171

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

*siaosiv* system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

583 597

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

583 591 [612]

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

[171] [551]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

T
583
551
611
428
T
[069]



to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

Tn
583
591
178

Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

Tn
[578]

T
583
178

There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

T
587
[581]
[183]

### *Remarriage*

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *sinosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

### *Adoption of a Daughter*

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sinsiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

### Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6



with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

### *Adoption of a Son*

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



581 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by
584 marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry
583 have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation [564] may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both
584 families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family
465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invita-
[203] tions are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and rela-
[618] tives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178] [494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

2: Wolf

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

● 583

[For modes of marriage, especially in relation to rules of residence and initiation of common residence in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 1-8, 40-98, 127-133, 165-246, and 251-288.]

impossible for the family which wanted to adopt girls as wives for their sons. Thus, we find in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 a rate of adoption for female children that is much higher than the rate of male adoption. Whereas only 8 (7 percent) of the 110 males born in the village before 1930 were given in adoption, more than half of the females born in this period were sent out in adoption. Of a total 103 girls born into the village before 1930 we find that 67 (65 percent) were given in adoption. As striking as this figure may seem, the rate of adoption was apparently even higher in Hsiachichou in the past. Of 45 girls who were born before 1910 a total of 32 (71 percent) were given out in adoption.[1]

According to our informants in Hsiachichou, landlord families living in the market towns almost never gave their female children away in adoption. They were wealthy enough that the expense of raising a girl was not a matter of concern, and so were able to spare their female children the often unhappy fate of the adopted daughter. Some parents who were particularly fond of a daughter even went so far as to arrange a matrilocal marriage as a means of keeping her in the family. By contrast with these exceptionally well to do families, there have always been some poor families living in the area who have had to sell all of their daughters. These were the really impoverished who could not afford to raise their sons let alone their daughters. The contrast is one to which a friend living in Hsulin often referred to illustrate

---

1 These figures and those which follow exclude the female children of a number of women who were prostitutes. Since the circumstances are so different from the case of the normal family, we will analyze these decisions separately.

[Additional information on sĭm-pûà and siaosiv is to be found in categories 584 and 597.]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



583 would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

*596 *159 595 583 *593 [771] Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

*596 *159 186 582 *593 595 All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*chapter 7* [p. 75]

# LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



cure by beating. Lim Chieng-cua at twenty-one had already developed some skills in diplomacy. When he committed his only unfilial act, refusing to marry the girl selected for him by his parents, he did so in terms of her potential for bringing shame to the family name.

Several young men of Lim Chieng-cua's generation rejected the girls adopted to be their brides, but it was by no means the common act it was to become a few years later. In most cases there was a family uproar, aired from one end of the village to the other; the outcome depended a great deal upon the son's position in the family, the firmness of his character, and the potential he had for financial independence. In the case of the Lims, however, the village knew nothing of the matter until an observant neighbor noted the second visit of a go-between and was calmly told that Lim Han-ci was arranging the marriage of his adopted daughter. We can never know precisely what words were exchanged between father and son, but I doubt that they found much to disagree over. Lim Han-ci could not have looked with much favor on Iu Mui-mue, and he certainly realized that her nature would not improve with an elevation of position in the family. Had the old man wanted it, Lim Chieng-cua would probably be married to Mui-mue today, but since the father was in basic agreement with his son, there was no reason for him to rise to the challenge to his authority and to thereby endanger a relationship that was both comforting and important to his own well-being. Lim Han-ci had lost his eldest son and wished no quarrel with his one remaining son.

There is nothing in the marriage of adopted siblings that is lacking in honor. It is a form of marriage found even among wealthy urban families who value peace over pageantry. But even a man of Lim Han-ci's parsimonious principles must have been tempted by the opportunity the marriage of two unrelated adults provides for a public display of the family's rise in the world. To affirm his ability to provide a series of feasts for a hundred or more guests, to display his new house bedecked in satin banners and garlands of gift money, to introduce the quantity and quality of his social and blood relations, to show how large a dowry he could demand, to have the dowry carried on open carts through the streets of the town and the paths of the villages, to know that rumors were circulating as to the amount he gave as a "bride price"—these things may have appealed to Lim Han-ci as a symbol of his personal triumph over poverty and as a gesture

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home
511 463 465 are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 In order to continue the family line and provide
583 descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring
591 in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan
583 based on official records provided by Barclay for the
591 period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
• 583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
591 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in
559 records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ances-
769 tor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.

583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
861 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

551
583
584
851



surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

583
851 The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

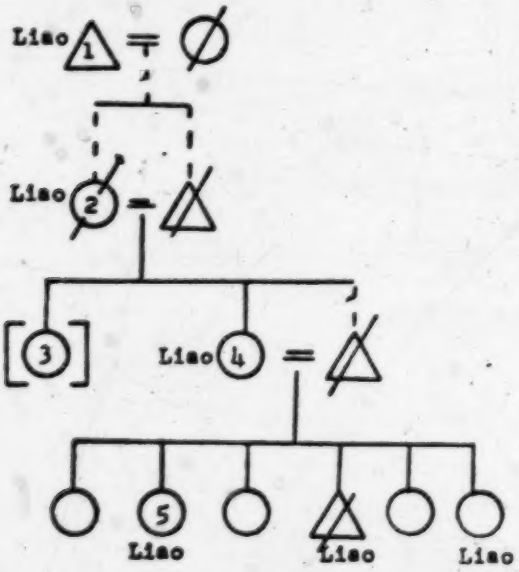


Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
581 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 136; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

583 558 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in husbands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 183 123 The frequency of this form of marriage has important implications for the role of women. There are probably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 583 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them to-
554 gether." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
587 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

The third and final additional reason seems to be based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

783
783
796
787
[577]
[598]
[753]

5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

[825]
[593]

7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

783
796

About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

191
585 The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that
584 described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf,
1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability
583 may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount ex-
584 changed marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while
585 the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The